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618 this type of landholding belongs to a *tsu* group. The *tsu* may be a very large one which dominates a whole village, as in many Taiwanese villages, or it may be one of many small *tsu* groups in a village such as Hsin Hsing. In Hsin Hsing only a few of the *tsu* groups own such land, which represents only 3.2 percent of the total land owned by Hsin Hsing villagers. Almost half of this corporate land is the house land for *tsu* members. Almost all of the cultivated corporate land, about 0.5 *chia*, belongs to one of the larger *tsu* in Hsin Hsing, the K'angs. Most of their land is unofficially rented out to two of the *tsu*'s own members, who then pay rent of 37.5 percent to the *tsu*. The money is used for some of the *tsu* expenses such as religious ceremonies or the repair of the *tsu*'s main ancestral-worship room.

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[217] In the official land tenure records, the corporate land is listed in the name of some members of the *tsu* group; it is not recorded as rented-out land. In the several cases of corporate landholdings in Hsin Hsing, the *tsu* members listed as owners in the records are long since deceased, but their names are still carried in the books. The cultivated portions of the corporate lands are administered by respected *tsu* elders. Generally, in Hsin Hsing the *tsu* group pays little concern to its corporate lands, since the amount of them is actually insignificant.⁴

T Tn 423 652 LAND REFORM AND THE LANDLORD

The government compensated landlords for lands expropriated in 1953, but because of the unstable economic situation the compensation was not in cash; 70 percent was paid in land bonds and 30 percent in Government Enterprise Stockshares. In order to insure the value of the bonds against the fluctuations in currency values, they were issued to the former landlords on a commodity basis and, at maturity, were to be paid in kind instead of in cash. Rice was to be paid in return for expropriated paddy land and sweet potatoes for dry land. The principal and interest at 4 percent per annum on the land bonds are being paid to the former landlords over a ten-year period in twenty equal semiannual installments (a payment schedule notably similar to that made by the purchasers of the land from the government). The land bonds are transferable and can be sold on the open market or used as security in financial matters (Chang, 1954:76-77; T'ang, 1954:147-151; 154-163).

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475 After the restoration the national and provincial governments owned 70 percent of the industrial enterprises in Taiwan. These had been taken over from the Japanese at the end of the war. At that time, it was the desire of the Nationalist Chinese government to transfer all public enterprises to private owners except those relating to national defense, those of a monopolistic nature, and those affecting utilities.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

CHANGING LAND TENURE

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Such purchases have a surface appearance of legality, but, strictly speaking, they are not. According to the 1953 law, land purchased from the government under the act can be sold by the original purchaser only after he has become a full owner by completing the twenty payments to the government. In current practice, the purchaser, using a middleman or a land broker, secretly gives the owner enough rice or money to cover the outstanding payments to the government. In addition, he gives him more money or rice to cover the payments already made, plus a substantial bonus. When all the remaining payments have been made, usually in one lump sum, the land is officially turned over to the new owner. By law he must be able to till the land himself. This should eliminate the likelihood of landlords engaging in such transactions. In Hsin Hsing village this method has so far been limited to the small landholder who through expanding financial resources has been able to buy additional land to support an expanding family. Such people cannot easily acquire land through completely legal means because of the decreased turnover of land since land reform.

However, some landlords in the area not only manage to purchase such land reform land by this method but manage to buy back their own land which, expropriated by the government, has since passed through several hands. They may then even rent it out, even though the law says that such expropriated land can only be sold to someone who will till the land himself. According to a reliable informant, this can be managed when the land has passed through several hands since 1953, so that the government agencies have lost track of it and are no longer aware of the history of its transfers. The Land Office responsible for such land can easily lose track of it. The land tenure data are recorded in the Land Office in so many different books and cards that it is difficult to maintain any adequate check on the transfers of individual plots of land. Besides this, not all the data are accurate, or even kept together in one office. In the Hsin Hsing village area for example, some records are kept in the Lukang Land Office and some in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office, according to a system for recording land tenure data prescribed by the provincial Land Office in Taipei. In addition, there seems to be little investigation by land agents of the ownership of lands in the area.

Probably the greatest source of purchasable land since the land reform is private-ownership land which formerly belonged to large landholders. At the time of the expropriation in 1953, many landlords got their start in outside business or commerce, and many have since proved successful. As a result, many of them have sold more and more of the three chia of land which the 1953 law allowed them to retain, using the money for further investment in business or light industries. In the Hsin Hsing village area the lands of such former landlords have

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(454)

PREGNANCY AND BIRTH

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[759] The villagers believe that pregnancy lasts ten lunar months and is signalled by the initial interruption of the menstrual cycle. It is rare for a village woman to see a doctor at all during her pregnancy. The villagers consider it unnecessary and say that only the rich people go to a doctor. Even though there is a government-run health center in the [743] Hsiang which offers some pre-natal care, modesty prevents village women from visiting the clinic although the excuse they give is that they do not have the time.

The expectant mother receives no special care during pregnancy; she eats no special foods and goes about her household and field tasks as usual. The women fear that if they eat special foods the baby may get too big and that the delivery will be difficult and dangerous. They [292] wear no special maternity clothes, but wear either larger and fuller skirts or leave the top buttons of their regular skirts open. During the last month of pregnancy and the first month and a half after the birth, the parents abstain from sexual intercourse. This, the villagers explain, is for the protection of the mother's health.

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[217] Today, most village women employ a midwife at the birth of their first child. Midwives first began to be used about twenty years ago, but "then it was only rich people." The regular use of a midwife by ordinary villagers has been common only since the postwar period or the late 1940's. It is interesting that one of the important advantages of having a midwife, according to a group of village women, is that "If we call a midwife, it is easier to register the baby in the Hsiang Public Office since the midwife will then write out the certificate of birth. Otherwise a birth certificate must be obtained through the village mayor."

Previously, the older women of the family delivered all babies. Today, these same women may be present to assist the midwife at the time a first child is born, and they usually assist in the delivery of subsequent children when a midwife has not been called. The husband is not present when his wife gives birth.

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[759] The midwife who works at the Pu Yen Hsiang Health Center is usually called to Hsin Hsiang village. She has been trained by attending several classes for midwives. "She charges NT \$30-40 (about US \$1) for a normal delivery, or more if she has to give an injection to stop excessive bleeding. The midwife makes two house visits, one at the time of the birth and the second when she washes the baby on the third day after the birth. When the child is born, the midwife applies a silver nitrate solution to the eyes only if it appears that there might be something wrong.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5 •
Taiwan AD6

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000. For a detailed description of the operation of such clubs and how some participants profit financially from them, see Fei (1939) and Embree (1939). Although the actual details are here somewhat different, the general idea and method are similar.

*Chapter 4: Changing Land Tenure and Its Effect on
Community Organization*

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Land tenure records for the Hsin Hsing area are kept in the Lukang Land Office, the local branch of the Taiwan Provincial Land Bureau in Taipei. The Lukang office maintains sets of maps and many different forms on which are recorded all land tenure operations, including those of the land reform. However, only two types of land tenure record forms are kept fully up to date for each village.

Of these two, one type is the landownership card for privately owned land holdings. Files of these cards are maintained under three separate categories: "individual," "joint," and "corporate" ownership. There is a card in the name of each primary owner. The other type, which records all land operations by the villagers, is maintained in loose-leaf notebooks, one for each village. Each village family which owns and/or rents any land has a few pages in the book. The book is apparently kept for the purpose of observing annual variations in kind and amount of land cultivated as they relate to and affect the standard of living. Towards this end, it also indicates changes in the amount of livestock and farm equipment and the make-up of family population, but these items are not usually kept up to date.

[217] The Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office also keeps records which can be of help in determining the total village land tenure situation. These records, which are used by the Public Office for assessment purposes, include listings of landlord-tenant contracts, villagers who received land under the 1953 Land-to-the-Tiller Act, and general totals of land cultivated by the people in each village.

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[127] During the post-land reform period (1953-1957), these figures remained almost constant, so that the above figures and those used from now on will be from the 1957 records, since that year's data are the most detailed.

Some landlords sold their land before the act of expropriation.

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[671] The 0.5 chio of K'ang tsu land was not expropriated under the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953. Article 8, category 5, of this act stipulates in section 1 that tenant-cultivated land owned by private individuals or family "clans" for purposes of ancestor worship be expropriated. However, as Wang (1964: 79) points out, sections 2 and 3 of Article 8 alter this part of the law. These sections stipulate that the landowning group, e.g., a tsu, may retain an amount of land sufficient to provide for the expenditures of ancestor sacrifices. The two sections also stipulate that all such land, if used for other purposes, be expropriated, noting that in the past such land and income derived from it were the source of a great deal of conflict and litigation. As a result of the ambiguity in the basic law and the added sections, implementation of it has varied from place to place according to the particular situation and idiosyncratic interpretation.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

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¹ For a more detailed discussion of attitudes towards the land, see my "Chinese Peasant Values Toward the Land."

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Chapter 5: Family and Kinship

¹ Freedman's (1958:2) "inflated families" would apparently be a group of related families oriented around their kinship relationship and in which the activities of the group are aimed primarily at the maintenance of their kinship ties. For such a group, kinship is both the basis of the relationships and also an end in itself. On the other hand, a lineage (*tsu*) uses its kinship relationships as a means to an end: to tie the group members together into an organization so that they might better exert sociopolitical influence to insure their own welfare and security.

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² These 99 had a population of 609 persons and included members of village households who were working in Taipei. The figures, from October, 1959, will be used throughout the chapter because they are the most complete tabulations which can be used for a detailed breakdown of the village *tsu* groups and families. The figures used in the demographic section of Chapter 2 for 1958 made it possible to compare Hsin Hsing with the *hsiang* and Taiwan as a whole, since the 1959 figures for Pu Yen Hsiang and Taiwan were not available.

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The decline in the general population and the number of families in Hsin Hsing which is reflected in the difference between the 1958 and 1959 figures (637 persons living in 115 households in 1958) represents the village's losses through urban migration. As noted in Chapter 4, whole families and members of families had gradually been moving to Taipei; the movement had increased somewhat in the previous two years. Further, many families which had only partially made the move now made it complete, thus changing their residence registration from Hsin Hsing to Taipei.

³ It is difficult from this distance to ascertain just how such arrangements were worked out among the village *tsu* organizations. Like so many other ethnographic field studies, much of what is written in this book was analyzed from data only after leaving the field. Since my field research did not focus specifically on such questions as lineage cleavages, my data often are not detailed enough to carry either the description or analyses to their logical conclusions. Therefore, all I can do in such instances is to present and analyze the data as best I can and hope that it may have some value to others.

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⁴ Included in the registration of each household unit are such data as the number of people, ages, schooling, occupations, and temporary residences. However, little of this information is kept up-to-date by the local official appointed by the Public Office to act as village secretary. In addition, much of the information recorded is simply not accurate. For example, although many village women and girls engage in full-time local outside employment or perhaps are responsible for tending the family's fields, nevertheless, almost all women are officially recorded as housewives, with no indication of what they actually do.

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⁵ These definitions by Lang (1946:14) of nuclear (conjugal) and joint family forms approximate Murdock's definitions (1949:2). The Lang definitions for

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128 village populations. Finally, the structure and function
602 of larger agnatic units are considered.

Family versus Household

592 According to Lang, the economic family, the chia,
is a "unit consisting of members related to each other
by blood, marriage, or adoption, and having a common bud-
get and common property" (1946:13). The chia is sometimes
contrasted with the household, the hu, which could in-
clude such temporary residents as more distant relatives,
servants, or workers. If common-law marriages are in-
cluded along with regular marriage since they are so ac-
cepted in the village, the chia and hu are always identi-
cal in Sanlei Ts'un. Both the Sanlei villagers and I
agree that the chia and hu in Sanlei are identical, con-
sisting of the group who live together, share economics,
and cook and eat together as a regular practice.

Household Registration

• 217 Formal population registration is required for all
659 people in Taiwan. Sanlei records are maintained in the
township office in Hsin Tien. The record, which is main-
tained by hu as the unit of registration, includes an
identification number, the address of the family, the name
of the head of the household (chia ch'ang), and a brief
history of the family including such information as re-
locations, divisions, etc. For each individual in the

- 217 family, there is listed an identification number, relationship to the chia chang of the household,² birth order differentiated by sex such as second daughter or first son, date of birth, spouse's name, father's name, mother's name, occupation, amount of education, and personal history such as date of marriage and spouse's name, reasons why someone leaves or joins the household, cause of death, army induction and discharge records, etc. A household registration certificate is kept in each household to which a personal registration card is related for each member of the household.

It is required by law that all status changes which would affect these records be reported to the township office. Such changes include the relocation of the family, births, deaths, adoptions in or out, marriage in or out, family division, etc. However, the records are only of limited value to an anthropologist or demographer because of the many discrepancies and their incompleteness.

Although false registration is a violation of the law, a major problem in using records is caused by the fact that people are not living in the household in which they are registered. Once every five years or so, during a single night, the government conducts a major census and checks registrations. Except for census takers and some necessary vital personnel, military, police, medical, etc., everyone is restricted to their official registered homes.

- 217 For the two days preceding and the two days following the
659 census, the transportation system for the entire island
is overloaded with people traveling to and from their
official residences and the place where they actually
reside.

659 There are various reasons for the failure to reg-
183 ister significant changes. Since an old cultural value
217 maintains it is best not to bring yourself to the atten-
[829] tion of government officials for any reason, registration
acts are avoided because they necessitate contact with
[516] government officials. Another error derives from the
prestige associated with the large extended family, ta
chia ting. A family may actually have divided with one
branch migrating to the city, but if the division is not
officially registered, the family can maintain a pretense
that the move is temporary and the family has not really
divided. Conversely, there were two factors causing
some families to divide on paper but not in fact in spite
of the high values associated with the extended family.
By dividing into smaller units, they hoped to retain land
in the various land reform processes and further, hoped to
obtain draft deferments. The confusion and misinformation
which was rampant at the time of the various "Land Reform
Laws" caused a final form of over-registration. Some small
landlords who lived in the city or a town migrated to the
village officially, on paper but not in fact, in order to

659 maximise the possibility of retaining their land. In
183 summary there is both under-registration and over-
• 217 registration and although the absolute number of people
by actual residence and official records is quite similar,
they differ considerably in specific characteristics. To-
tal Sanlei errors are similar to those found in a sample
survey of a community north of Taipei: 11% registered
but not living in the community and 5% living in the com-
munity without registering (P.K.C. Liu, 1967:17).

217 Information regarding individuals is also frequently
183 inaccurate; the categories of education and occupation are
588 the most misleading. Birth and death records are quite
[27] good. Marriages are official only if recorded, but sev-
eral common-law marriages have been recognized by partici-
pants and fellow villagers although the couple are only
listed as "living together" in the official records.
Common-law marriages may be legalized eventually, in one
case after 13 years. In one extreme case a "Liao" sep-
arated from his wife who still lives in a nearby village.
He has been living with a different woman in Sanlei Ts'un
for the past 23 years and they are listed in the records
as just living together. They have six children, each
registered under the woman's surname with the space for
father's name left blank. About two to three months after
birth, the man officially adopted each child, changing the
surname to Liao. Practically, the couple behave as if

• 217 married, are so considered by villagers, and the unit con-
183 stitutes a family in village affairs even if not officially
588 registered. In this example, the couple claim that it is
less onerous to live together and adopt the children than
to obtain a divorce and remarry because marriage to someone
who is divorced is negatively evaluated. (The way I first
learned of two of the three cases of marriage where one
partner had been divorced was through a check of official
records.) Although the man said it was not a factor, the
fact that the brother of the first wife was the sworn
brother of the man in the example cited above may have
been important. I was not able to obtain agreement about
the significance of this point.

125 In the discussion to follow, the actual residence
591 patterns based on the field census are used rather than
official records. A family is included in the village if
a majority of its members sleep in the village a majority
of the time. A family officially registered as divided
but in fact living and cooking together as a single unit
is counted as a single unit (one case). Conversely, a fam-
ily which had not divided officially but was living and
eating separately in two or more units was counted as more
than one unit (two cases). An individual is considered a
resident if he regards Sanlei as his home and he sleeps in
the village at least one night per week. Thus, a girl who
works in a factory and sleeps in a dormitory but usually

166 township of Hsin Tien. Three of these came from the moun-
592 tain areas adjacent to Talei Li because of the convenience
621 of the transportation system to town and the presence of
electricity in Sanlei but not in the mountain area.

166 In summary then, of the 66 chia chang, 63 were
591 raised within three miles of the center of the village.
592 This data emphasizes the continuity of the Sanlei popula-
621 tion.

Processes Changing Family Size

592 There are various standard mechanisms for increasing
the size of a family unit. Assuming the basic dyadic unit
in a family consists of a cohabiting adult male and female,
the most common means for adding members is through repro-
duction. This means is assumed for Sanlei Ts'un and will
not be explicitly considered in a separate section of this
592 chapter. Adoption is a process available in most societies
597 to add members who are the equivalent of natural children.
Adoption is common in Sanlei but varies in accordance with
the sex of the child and with the kinds of relationships
592 established between the two families involved. Members
may also be added by marriage which also varies in accord-
ance with the sex of the individual added and also at the
stage of the individual life cycle when the marriage proc-
• 299 ess is started and consummated. Any of the above changes
597 must be registered in the official records. If the change
is marriage or adoption, it will be reflected in two

- 217 household registrations, the home of origin and the home
592 of destination.

592 Another concept to be considered in family size is the creation of new independent units. In Sanlei, death must be registered but a death never creates a new unit, for any unit continues in spite of membership changes. New units are only created by the process of family division, a formal event which must be registered in the public office. In a division into two or more new units, one of the new units will usually be considered as a continuation of the old. It is possible, however, for a family unit to disappear. As previously stated, a unit may consist of only one person and this unit would disappear with his death or adoption or if the individual married into another unit.

125 Again, because of the errors associated with the
592 official records, the following discussion is based on data which was gathered through interviews in the village. Marriages were only considered if one of the original partners was still alive and residing in the village. There was at least one interview with each living spouse. There were 94 marriages which met this requirement, but this meant more than 94 interviews for in many cases both
[592] partners were still alive. Similarly, adoptions were only considered if one of the original participants was still living in the village. This was usually one of the

599 is some overlap with the previous figures because an adop-
562 tion between families who both live in the village counts
162 twice, once as an "in" and once as an "out." The general
opinion of the villagers is that the number of adoptions
in and out of the village has been approximately equal.

597 One of the items of the household registration is
562 the birth order of the child, distinct for each sex.

- [217] Birth orders are listed in Table 10 for the 31 adopted-in
females. Residents argue that daughters are usually given
in adoption because a family has too many already, but the
data is only partially supportive of this belief. A high
number of adopted children whose birth order is first or
second indicates other processes are significant although
nearly sixty per cent of the adoptions are from families
which already have three or more girls. Since girls do
not have a value as high as boys, it is quite probable that
younger girls will be released by families that have sev-
eral daughters. In some cases, it appears that economic
deprivation necessitates the release of girls although
there was only one family currently living in Sanlei who
supposedly gave away girls for this reason.

[586] Divorce or widowhood among people who are not in-
corporated in larger chia also results in releasing chil-
dren who may have a birth order number which is first or
second. The exchange of natural daughters for adopted
daughters to promote later siasiv marriages explains some

- 217 The authorities want the birth registered as soon as possible but cultural values are in opposition since a baby is not quite human until 30 days have elapsed. Funerals, for example, are only conducted for those who live at least 30 days.

852 The end of 30 days is marked by a major ceremony, man yueh (full month). The baby's head is annointed and shaved and then he is taken outside to show the neighbors. The family of the baby's mother provides a complete set of clothes which tend to decline in elaborateness in direct proportion to the number of grandchildren. In Sanlei, almost as a mirror image, the family of an adopted-in husband often provides the outfit and gifts if financially able. There will usually be a luncheon party to celebrate man yueh with food provided by all four grandparents.

553 At the ceremony, everyone will hear the child's name.
[852] The surname should be obvious but because of the number of adopted-in husbands, it is possible the child could receive either mother's or father's. Although agreements were originally considered clear, their interpretations are often a matter of dispute and some people also change their minds. There should be two more parts to the name but a very few children only receive one although the latter practice is disappearing. Every child under 12 in the village had two names in addition to his surname although several adults had but one. One name is uniquely a child's own. The middle